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PETRONIUS AND THE PICARESQUE NOVEL

by

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and that they recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance the thesis entitled Petronius and the Picaresque Novel, that has been submitted by Ellie Swart in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

It is assumed by a number of authorities that the Satyricon of Petronius belongs to the picaresque genre and is actually one of the sources for the many picaresque novels which saw the light in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

This thesis is intended to suggest that this assumption has been too readily made. It is questionable for that matter whether Petronius' novel, although containing many picaresque elements, can, in fact, be classified as a picaresque novel.

Furthermore it will be argued that on the one hand the major portion of our extant Petronius, namely the Cena Trimalchionis, was not available to readers until its first edition in 1664 and so could not have influenced the early European picaresque romances, and, on the other hand, that except for the story of the Matron of Ephesus there seems to be little or no evidence of Petronian influence on Italian, French, and Spanish medieval literature, a literature which provided some source-material for the picaresque novel.

This thesis will suggest that the early picaresque romance came rather from other sources such as the Golden Ass (or Metamorphoses) of Apuleius, the Dance of Death, the Roman de Renard, the medieval fabliaux, the novelle, the Till Eulenspiegel, and possibly the Maqamat of Hariri.

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A study of the Satyricon and its possible influence on the
European Romance of Roguery

FOREWORD

It has been assumed by a number of authorities that the Satyricon of Petronius belongs to the picaresque genre¹ and actually influenced the many picaresque novels which were written in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.² A more careful examination of the Satyricon itself and of the first European picaresque novel may, however, indicate that both these assumptions were made too readily, and, furthermore, that there are other definite sources than Petronius for the genesis of the picaresque romance in Europe.

The first essay of this thesis will be to examine the Satyricon carefully to see whether or not it really belongs in the picaresque genre. Next there will be an examination of the first picaresque novel, which originated in Spain, to try to determine what

¹

G. T. Northup, An Introduction to Spanish Literature (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 170.

Angel Valbuena y Prat, La Novela Espanola Picaresca (Madrid: M. Aguilar, 1946), p. 13.

B. E. Perry, CPh XX (1925), p. 31.

Jan ten Brink, Eene studie over den Hollandschen schelmenroman der zeventiende eeuw (Rotterdam, 1885), p. 33.

J. Wight Duff, Roman Satire (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1937), p. 97.

G. Highet, The Classical Tradition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 304.

S. Dill, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius (New York: Meridian Books, 1956), p. 126.

²

As H. C. Schnur points out in his article "Recent Petronian Scholarship" (Classical Weekly L [1957], p. 135), a study of Petronian influence on the entire genre of the roman picaresque has not yet been made.

its sources were and whether or not traces of Petronian influence can be found.

CHAPTER I

THE AUTHOR, SOURCES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SATYRICONA. The Author of the Satyricon.

It is generally agreed that the author of the Satyricon or Satirae¹ is, in all probability, Petronius Arbiter, the consul and intimate friend of Nero. What little we know of this Petronius is stated in Tacitus who writes:

"De C. Petronio pauca supra repetenda sunt. nam illi dies per somnum, nox officiis et oblectamentis vitae transigebatur; utque alios industria, ita hunc ignavia ad famam protulerat, habebaturque non ganeo et profligator, ut plerique sua haurentium, sed erudito luxu. ac dicta factaque eius quanto solutiora et quandam sui neglegentiam praeferentia, tanto gratius in speciem simplicitatis accipiebantur. proconsul tamen Bithyniae et mox consul vigentem se ac parem negotiis ostendit. dein revolutus ad vitia seu vitiorum imitatione inter paucos familiarum

¹There are two theories on the correctness of the title. Perry (CPh XX [1925], pp. 33-34), says that as given in the manuscripts it ranges from Satirarum libri and Saturicon, or its intended equivalent Satyrici libri, through various obvious corruptions of the words. The best manuscripts have Saturicon, and it is surely much more probable that an original Greek genitive Satyricon has been misunderstood and corrupted into the familiar Latin Satirae than, conversely, that Satirae has evolved into the less familiar but correct form Satyricon (sc. libri). The propriety of such a title is not hard to understand; it falls in line with the usual title of a Greek romance, such as *Βαβυλωνία* (Suidas, s.v. Iamblichus), *Ἡλιόδωρος* (Heliodorus), etc., and probably meant simply a romance dealing with things of a satyr-like character. That is, in fact, exactly what we have in Petronius' work; for Priapus plays an important part in the plot, and the activities of Encolpius, Giton and Ascyltus are preeminently satyrica in this sense, that is, of a phallic nature. The genitive ending in -on shows clearly enough that Petronius regarded his title as Greek, i.e. not derived from Latin satira; and this Greek word *σατυρικός* regularly had the meaning satyr-like or pertaining to satyrs, whether applied to the drama or to anything else. The title Satyricon (sc. libri) is therefore thoroughly appropriate to an obscene novel; whereas, Satirae, which regularly means a number of separate satirical essays, seems much less appropriate and more difficult to explain.

Neroni adsumptus est, elegantiae arbiter, dum nihil amoenum et molle adfluentia putat, nisi quod Petronius adprobavisset. unde invidia Tigellini quasi adversus aemulum et scientia voluptatum potioem. ergo crudelitatem principis, cui ceterae libidines cedebant, adgreditur, amicitiam Scaevini Petronio obiectans, corrupto ad indicium servo ademptaque defensione et maiore parte familiae in vincla rapta.

Forte illis diebus Campaniam petiverat Caesar, et Cumas usque progressus Petronius illic attinebatur; nec tulit ultra timoris aut spei moras. neque tamen praeceps vitam expulit, sed incisas venas, ut libitum, obligatas aperire rursum et adloqui amicos, non per seria aut quibus gloriam constantiae peteret. audiebatque referentes nihil de immortalitate animae et sapientium placitis, sed levia carmina et faciles versus. servorum alios largitione, quosdam verberibus adfecit. iniit epulas, somno indulisit, ut quamquam coacta mors fortuitae similis esset. ne codicillis quidem, quod plerique pereuntium, Neronem aut Tigellinum aut quem alium potentium adulatus est; sed flagitia principis sub nominibus exoletorum feminarumque et novitatem cuiusque stupri perscripsit atque obsignata misit Neropi. fregitque anulum ne mox usui esset ad facienda pericula."¹

The Petronius depicted by Tacitus² is, therefore, a sophisticate who, although possessed of considerable capabilities, adapted himself to the vices of Nero's court and, when he fell out of favour, met death with grace and fortitude. In later centuries, chiefly because of the identification of him with the author of the Satyricon, there have been widely varying estimates of the man and his genius.

¹Tacitus, Annals, II p. 143 (Furneaux).

²Arrowsmith has the following comment on Tacitus' paragraph on Petronius: "Unconventionality, charm, courage, refinement, an appetite for pleasure, a dislike of heroic postures and an understanding of others; if we had to imagine for ourselves the probable character of the Petronius who wrote the Satyricon, it is exactly these qualities we should be compelled to select."
Petronius, Satyricon, trans. William Arrowsmith (New York: The American Library, 1959), p. v.

In general, one group of critics regards him as wicked and vicious¹, while another group credits him with brilliant wit, a keen sense of observation and a realistic attitude towards life.² All are agreed, however, that a man of Petronius Arbiter's character could well have composed the Satyricon.³

If then, as henceforth may be assumed, it was Petronius Arbiter of Tacitus who wrote the Satyricon, the date of the novel's composition can at once be established as being between ca. A.D. 54 and A.D. 65. An attempt to prove the date and authorship of the Satyricon by internal evidence alone was made by Gilbert Bagnani. The conclusion of his

¹A. Collignon speaks of "la morale ou plutôt l'immoralité de Pétrone". Étude sur Pétrone (Paris: Fontemoing, 1892), p. 57.

A sentence in Smollett's Roderick Random sums up much of the criticism passed in England on Petronius. Roderick Random answers Earl Strutwell when he has raised the question of Petronius' taste in love as generally decried and indeed condemned by our laws, "I told him that in my opinion he wrote with ease and vivacity, but was withal so lewd and indecent that he ought to find no quarter or protection among people of morals and taste".

T. Smollett, Roderick Random (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1927), p. 307.

²J. Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1960), p. 140.

Petronius, Satyricon, trans. William Arrowsmith (New York: The American Library, 1959), p. vii.

Gilbert Highet argues in a very interesting paper "Petronius the Moralist", (TAPA LXXII [1941], p. 194), that the themes and the moral intentions of Petronius are those of a true satirist, who works within the tradition of earlier and contemporary satire, and criticizes the world from the point of view of Epicurean morality. "Petronius' life, his death and his book were masterpieces of that Epicurean superiority and pride in which something of the old Roman courage still survived."

³ Jack Lindsay sums up the argument convincingly: "The detached ironic and courageous character emerging from Tacitus' account fits in so remarkably with what we feel the Satyricon's author must have been like, that it is natural the identification should have been widely made". Petronius, The Satyricon and Poems, trans. Jack Lindsay (London: Elek Books, 1960), p. 11.

convincing argument is that the Satyricon was written for the amusement of Nero and his pauci familiares on the occasion of the Neroneia of A.D. 60.¹

Whatever the circumstances under which it was composed the Satyricon is the only extant specimen of its kind in Latin literature.

B. The Sources and Characteristics of the Satyricon.

It is difficult to establish any satisfactory logical connection between earlier forms of literature and Petronius' novel. The work shows points of similarity with several antecedent forms of composition; in fact, it is an easy matter to discover sources for various specific characteristics of the Satyricon. The novel contains a few more or less direct suggestions of epic situations and characters.² The conventional motif of the story of Petronius is the wrath of an offended deity.³ The narrative in the Odyssey and the Aeneid rests on the same basis. However, to propose that the Satyricon is a parody of an epic of wandering seems too inadequate an explanation.

The same holds for the viewpoint that the Satyricon is a parody of Greek love-romance. There are sufficient parallels between Petronius' novel and Greek romance to suggest that the Greek romance

¹Gilbert Bagnani, Arbiter of Elegance (The Phoenix, supplementary Volume II, University of Toronto Press, 1954).

²The ship of their enemy Lichas on which Encolpius and his companions are cooped up reminds them of the cave of the Cyclops; Giton hiding from the town-crier under a mattress is compared to Ulysses underneath the sheep and clinging to its wool to escape the eye of the Cyclops; the woman whose charms engage the attention of Encolpius at Croton bears the name of Circe.

³E. Klebs considers this wrath the Leitmotiv of the whole novel. "Zur Composition von Petron's Satirae", Philologus XLVII (1889), p. 623.

was a credible source of influence on the Satyricon.¹ The structure of the novel, however, does not suggest only parody.

According to the two theories mentioned, the apparent fact that the Satyricon is a parody of some other form of literature accounts for the appearance of the satirical and cynical element in it. Bürger thinks that these characteristics were brought over directly from the Milesian Tale,² Rohde and Collignon are of the opinion that they were brought over from the Menippean Satire.³

It seems to be a matter of dispute to what kinds of stories the term "Milesian Tale" was applied by the ancients,⁴ but the existence of the short story before Petronius is beyond question. In the extant fragments of the Satyricon we find three such stories, about the werewolf, the matron of Ephesus, and the one related by the poet Eumolpus as a personal experience. The main characteristics of the Milesian Tales seem to have been portrayal of everyday life and characters, use of prose, and an emphasis on the erotic. In all these respects, save in the fact that each Milesian Tale seems regularly to have presented

¹Heinze (Hermes XXXIV [1889], pp. 494-519) has dwelt on the framework and motivation, on the union and separation of Giton and Encolpius, on the vicissitudes of fortune, on the constant erotic temptations of the heroes.

C. W. Mendell (CPh, XII [1917], p. 158) emphasizes the hairbreadth escapes which are the mainstay of both the Roman and Greek novelists in holding attention, and the prevailing willingness of the characters to give up and die when crises arise.

²R. Bürger, "Der Antike Roman vor Petronius", Hermes XXVII (1892), p. 351.

³E. Rohde, Der Griechische Roman, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: 1910), p. 267.
A. Collignon, op. cit., p. 20.

⁴Some of the important discussions of the Milesian Tale are by:
R. Bürger, Hermes XXVII (1892), pp. 345-358,
E. Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1958), p. 602,
E. Rohde, Kleine Schriften II, pp. 25-28.

one episode only, they resemble the Satyricon. More than a dozen of these short stories are embedded in Apuleius' novel, the Metamorphoses, and more modern specimens are to be seen in Boccaccio and Chaucer. As early as the first century B.C. collections of Milesian Tales had been made and translated into Latin.¹ In such a collection the central figures were different in the different stories, as is the case for instance in the Canterbury Tales. So original a writer as Petronius may well have thought of connecting these different episodes together by making them the experience of a single individual. Indeed some scholars conceive of his realistic novel as an expanded Milesian Tale.²

A definite link may be established between the Satyricon and Menippean Satire. The best specimens of this literary form have come down to us in the fragments of Varro, one of Cicero's contemporaries. These satires deal with all sorts of subjects in a satirical manner, sometimes put in the dialogue form. Their most distinctive characteristic is that they are cast in a melange of prose and verse. This last characteristic is of special interest in this connection, because in the novel of Petronius prose and verse are freely mingled. Occasionally the verses in the Satyricon are quoted from other sources but usually they are the composition of Petronius himself. Consequently, it seems evident that in form at least, the novel of Petronius conforms to the Menippean Satire.³

¹E. Rohde, Der Griechische Roman, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: 1910), p. 31.

²Ibid., p. 43.

³R. Hirzel, Der Dialog (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1895), II, p. 37.
 R. Schmid, "Der Griechische Roman", Neue Jahrbücher (1904), I, p. 476.
 E. Rohde, op. cit., p. 269.
 O. Ribbeck, Geschichte der römischen Dichtung, III, p. 150.

To pass to another possibility it is very tempting to see a connection between the Satyricon and the mime.¹ From the rather extensive fragments of this form of dramatic composition which have come down to us it is clear that the mime dealt with everyday life in a very frank, realistic way. Any figure to be seen on the street might find a place in the mime, the rhetorician, the soldier, the legacy hunter, the inn-keeper, etc. In the mime the conversational style is faithfully reproduced, not only the speech of the educated and highborn persons, but also that of the common people. The elements of parody, vulgar bantering, and obscenity are also essential characteristics of the mime.

The novel of Petronius contains all these characteristics features. His work, like the mime, is a realistic picture of low life which presents a great variety of characters and shows no regard for conventional morals. The theory that Petronius may have had the composition of his Satyricon suggested by a play of this type is strengthened by the fact that the mime reached its zenith of popularity at the court in the time of Nero, during whose reign Petronius lived.² Frequent references to the mime are in fact found in his novel. One of these passages is of particular significance in this connection.

Encolpius and his comrades are entering the town of Croton and are considering what device they shall adopt so as to live without working. At last a happy idea occurs to Eumolpus "Quid ergo, inquit

¹ Cf. Rosenbluth, Beiträge zur Quellenkunde von Petrons Satiren (Berlin, 1909), p. 86.

² P. Cahen, Le Satiricon et ses Origines (Annales de l'Université de Lyon, 1925), p. 64.

Eumolpus, cessamus mimum componere?"¹ So the mime is played with Eumolpus as the fabulously rich man at the point of death and the others as his attendants. The role makes a great hit, and all the vagabonds in the company play their assumed parts in their daily life at Groton with such skill that the legacy hunters of the place load them with attentions and shower them with gifts.

This whole episode in fact may be thought of as a mime cast in the narrative form, and the same conception may be applied with plausibility to the entire Satyricon.

Finally, of course, a great many parallels may be found between Petronius' novel and the work of Lucilius and Horace. All topics dealt with by these satirists are found in the Satyricon and the tone of aggressive mockery, so characteristic of satire, pervades the whole novel. However, a marked difference between satire and Petronius' work is that the author's personality is absent from the Satyricon. Petronius airs his views and opinions through his characters. He criticizes and ridicules the social, aesthetic and moral anomalies of his age through his subtle handling and treatment of his characters and narrative, never by direct personal attack.

In the introduction to his translation of the Satyricon Arrowsmith points out another dissimilarity. He remarks:

"But the crucial difference is surely that the Satyricon is unmistakably comic, everywhere shot through with a gusto and a verve and a grace of humor that is almost totally absent from the tolerant strictures of Horace, or the gentle, crabbed austerity of Persius or the enormous savagery of Juvenal. After all, one laughs with Petronius."²

¹Petronius, 117-4, p. 132. (Ernout)

²Petronius, Satyricon, trans. William Arrowsmith, p. vii.

The author of the Satyricon himself has in the eight verses in chapter CXXXII, 15 given us an analysis of the main characteristics of his work, and in doing so made a useful contribution to our examination of the origin of the novel.

In his eyes the merit of his work lies in the nova simplicitas (he refers to his novel as novae simplicitatis opus).¹ The use of the word nova contains no argument in favour of the theory that Petronius' work was original, since every Roman author applied this term to his work if he had been the first to imitate in Latin a literary form borrowed from the Greek. Moreover, Petronius explains precisely in the following lines what he means by the words nova and simplicitas. He refers both to the style of the novel and to his description of every day life. The lines

Sermonis puri non tristis gratia ridet,
quodque facit populus, candida lingua refert

indicate both his subject material and the manner in which he dealt with it, namely not to omit any details. Petronius seems to be aware that he has gone further than comedy, satire and mime in his portrayal of every day life. He is also aware that he has applied nova simplicitas to his descriptions of licentious tableaux and devotes four lines defending himself against the moral indignation of the Stoics (Catones).

The characteristics of his novel to which Petronius draws attention, realism and the esprit libertin, are much more obvious in the satire and mime than in epic and romance; this indicates the principal sources of inspiration for the Satyricon.

After an examination of Petronius' novel, the facts known about the author and his ideas and literary convictions, the impression

¹Petronius, 132-15, p. 161. (Ernout)

is gained that Petronius worked without a model and that by personal effort he achieved a fusion of elements found in previous literary forms. Reality itself provided the subject material for this author of keen perception. The form and content of the novel seem to indicate that Petronius is chiefly indebted to satire, Roman par excellence.

To sum up, the realistic romance of Petronius appears to be a Roman invention, strongly influenced however by Greek elements. The same Roman originality is found in the satire. Both genres have in common the fact that they in essence belong to the mimic literature; at least the greater part of their content is derived from this form of literature.

C. Is the Satyricon a picaresque novel?

Before a conclusion can be drawn as to whether or not the Satyricon belongs to the picaresque genre, the characteristics of the romances of roguery should be examined.

The picaresque novel is a chronicle, usually in the form of a suppositious autobiography, which presents the life story of a rascal of low degree engaged in menial tasks and making his living more through his wits than his industry. Episodic in nature, the picaresque novel is, in the usual sense of the term, structureless. It presents little more than a series of thrilling incidents, which actually could not have occurred in one lifetime.

The picaro, or central figure, through the nature of his various pranks and predicaments and by virtue of his associations with people of different classes affords the author an opportunity for satire

on the social classes. Romantic¹ in the sense of being a story of adventure, the picaresque novel nevertheless is strongly marked by realistic methods in its faithfulness to petty details, its utter frankness of expression, and its drawing of incidents from low life.

The originality of the picaresque novel consists in the fact that it presented a new vision of life. In his endless wanderings the picaro brings us into contact with beings of the most varied sort. However vividly these other characters are portrayed, for all the realism with which they are made to live, their chief purpose is to represent the society of which they form a part and which is under criticism. The picaro gives us his vision of society -- society seen from the underside, the "worm's eye view" as it has been called.² The picaro's vision of society is, of necessity, partial and circumscribed. It is realistic, but focused on reality from a single angle. He sets out as a child or a youth poor and inexperienced, who must make his own way and look out for himself. He passes from master to master, from job to job, living by his wits. He quickly learns how little he can expect from his fellow man, and detects the shams, deceits and cruelty hidden under the most respectable facades.

He begins his career in innocence and trust, and the disillusionments he suffers engender in him a wariness of all with whom he comes in contact. But he has one priceless compensation for his precarious life: freedom. He is free to change masters, jobs, travel

¹In the romantic novels the protagonists were ideal beings, moving in an atmosphere of poetic beauty. They were figures either imaginary or to whom time had lent a poetic aura, divesting them of reality. They were inspired by the loftiest aspirations, living by a code that admitted of nothing common or mean. But the picaresque novel dealt with sordid, unvarnished reality. In a certain sense the picaresque novel is the negation of the romantic novels.

²F. W. Chandler, Romances of Roguery (New York: Burt Franklin, 1961), p. 18.

all roads, see the world. Aspiring to nothing but subsistence, he is free from responsibility. His life has something of the charm that the gypsy's or vagabond's holds for all those hemmed in by the walls of respectability.

Of necessity the pizaro existed on the fringe of society. As he acquired no trade or profession, partly because of lack of opportunity, partly because of his love of freedom and his unwillingness to submit to the restraints that a profession or steady work would lay upon him, he became a parasite who lived by attaching himself to anyone who would provide him with a livelihood, however meager. The background against which he was to be found was the city in whose bustle and anonimity he could move freely or the open road with its inns and chance encounters. In the country or in a small town, where everyone had his established place, the pizaro would have been anomaly.

Though he often fell into petty thievery and other acts of roguery, the pizaro was not, strictly speaking, a criminal; a vagabond, a vagrant with no visible means of support at times, but motivated by no desire to do harm. For the purpose of fiction, this wandering existence he led gave the pizaro an unequalled opportunity to observe and reflect on the nature of society and his fellow man. His adventures brought him into contact with the most varied levels of society. Some of the masters he served were eminently respectable beings in the eyes of the world; but the pizaro saw them in their intimacy. The world at large saw these persons as they wished to be seen, according to the role they assumed, the disguise they adopted; the pizaro saw them as they really were, stripped of their outward trappings. The result of this is an indictment of society and its most honored members and institutions, and in the end, the pizaro, for all his cynicism and abjectness, proves

better - or no worse - than his superiors, from whom he learned his vices or by whom he was forced to acquire them in order to survive.

Fundamentally, the picaresque is the anti-hero.¹ All the attributes which had characterized the heroes of fiction were lacking in the picaresque. Love, courage, and pride were ideals foreign to him. He is a marginal, negative being, and in his negativism would hardly seem suitable material for art. But he has the individual quality of being a lens through which we view society. And having foresworn all pretense regarding himself, he is not taken in by the shams of others. It is this characteristic which makes the picaresque the shrewd observer of mankind that he is.

To sum up, there appear to be seven chief characteristics to distinguish the picaresque novel.

1. It chronicles a part of the whole life of a rogue. It is likely to be done in the first person - as autobiography - but this is by no means essential.
2. The chief figure is drawn from a low social level and is of "loose" character, according to conventional standards. The occupation of this central figure, should he tolerate employment at all, is menial in nature. He serves different masters in different capacities.
3. The novel presents little plot. Rather it is a series of episodes only slightly connected.
4. There is little character interest. Progress and development of character do not take place. The central figure starts as a picaresque and ends as a picaresque, manifesting the same aptitudes and

¹F. W. Chandler, op. cit., p. 19.

qualities throughout. When change occurs, as is sometimes the case, it is external change brought about by the man's falling heir to a fortune or by his marrying a rich wife. Internal character development is not a quality of the picaresque novel.

5. The method is realistic. While the story may be romantic in itself, it is presented with a plainness of language, a freedom of vocabulary and a vividness of detail such as the realist only is permitted.
6. Satire is a prominent element. Thrown with people from every class and often from different parts of the world, the **picaro** serves them intimately in one lowly capacity or another and learns all their foibles and frailties. The picaresque novel may in this way be made to satirize both social castes and national and racial peculiarities.
7. The hero of the picaresque novel usually stops just short of being an actual criminal. The line between crime and petty rascality is a hazy one, but somehow the **picaro** always manages to draw it. Carefree, amoral perhaps, he avoids actual crime and turns from one peccadillo to disappear down the dust of the road in search of another.

Most of these characteristics seem to apply to the Satyricon and it is not surprising that the resemblance in treatment has been adduced as a probable bond between the Satyricon and the romance of roguery. However, Encolpius differs from the **picaro** in that he does not make his way in the world through the service of masters. He is a lust-ridden wandering outlaw, living by his wits, who experiences one erotic adventure after another.

Neither does he draw the line between petty rascality and crime. He is actually a criminal, as he himself says. "Effugi iudicium, harenae imposui, hospitem occidi".¹ Not only was he a murderer, but he also had been a gladiator. According to Roman aristocratic standards this occupation was one of the lowest.²

The essential difference then between the Satyricon and the romance of roguery lies in the widely divergent characterization of their protagonists. It is apparent that the debauched criminal Encolpius has indeed very little in common with the anti-hero of the picaresque novels.

For this reason it is suggested that the Satyricon should not be classified as belonging to the picaresque genre. However, the novel does contain definite picaresque elements. In order to determine whether these elements have been a source of inspiration to the writers of the early picaresque novels it will be necessary to study the history of the manuscript of the Satyricon and possible Petronian influence on the medieval literature of Italy, France and Spain, since there is definite proof that this literature has provided the authors of picaresque novels with some source-material.

¹Petronius, 81-3, p. 83 (Ernout)

²Juvenal, Satirae, VIII, 199-210.
Ibid., XI, 1-20.

CHAPTER II

THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE SATYRICON AND ITS INFLUENCE ON
MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

References to the Satyricon are found in ancient grammarians, scholastics and compilers. In the second century Terentius Maurus speaks of Petronius as arbiter disertus.¹ In the fourth century Petronius is mentioned by Marius Victorinus,² Diomedes,³ Servius,⁴ and Saint Jerome.⁵ Macrobius, in the fifth century, mentions the author of the Satyricon in his commentary on Scipio's dream.⁶ Other fifth century authors who refer to the Satyricon are Marius Mercator,⁷ Pompeius,⁸ Lactantius Planciades,⁹ Priscian,¹⁰ and Sidonius Apollinaris.¹¹

¹"De Metris", H. Keil, Grammatici Latini, VI, v. 2489, p. 399.
v. 2852, p. 409.

²"Artis Grammaticae", H. Keil, op. cit., VI, p. 138, p. 153.

³"Artis Grammaticae", H. Keil, op. cit., I, p. 518.

⁴"In artem Donati", H. Keil, op. cit., IV, p. 432.

⁵Epistula ad Demetridem, ed. Vallarsi, p. 995.

⁶Somnium Scipionis, l. 2. 8.

⁷Liber subnotationum in verba Juliani, in Migne, Patrologia Latina, XLVIII, p. 126.

⁸"Commentum artis Donati", H. Keil, op. cit., V, p. 167.

⁹Scoliae in Thebaidem, III, p. 67.

¹⁰Institutiones, VII 16, p. 381. and XI 29, p. 567.

¹¹Loeb Classical Library, transl. W. B. Anderson, Carmen IX, v. 267 and Carmen XXIII, v. 156.

In the sixth century Boethius,¹ Fulgentius Planciades,² and Joannes Lydus³ mention Petronius, in the seventh century pseudo-Acron⁴ and Isidore of Seville.⁵

From the seventh century the name of Petronius is less and less frequently mentioned and only sporadically are imitations of passages from the Satyricon found.⁶ From an early date excerpts were made from the novel and we may assume that these excerpted versions were circulated.⁷

Bücheler states: "Iam sub Theodosii aetatem excerptas esse Satiras Petronianas facile credo, exploratissimum autem mihi est inde a septimo saeculo pleniorum quam nos Petronium in manibus habuisse neminem."⁸

Thus it seems probable that by the eighth century the sources for the text of Petronius fell into three groups:⁹

1. The long excerpts;

¹In Porphyricum a Victorino translatus, XI. p. 45.

²Mythologicon I p. 13, 17, 24. II p. 46, 57, III p. 73, 74. Vergiliana continentia p. 99. Sermones Antiqui, ed. Helm, p. 122, 123, 125, 126.

³De Magistratibus, I p. 41.

⁴Ad Horatii Epod. V p. 48.

⁵Origines V 26, 7.

⁶A. Collignon, Pétrone en France (Paris: Fontemoing, 1905), p. 5.

⁷Ibid.

⁸F. Bücheler, Grosze Ausgabe Petronius Satyricon (Berlin: Weidmann, 1862), p. xi.

⁹All information on the text of Petronius, unless stated otherwise in footnotes, is derived from the introduction to Petronius' Satyricon, ed. A. Ernout, p. xvii - xxxviii.

2. The short excerpts or excerpta vulgaria, so named because they are contained in the greatest number of manuscripts and because they have been published first;
3. An isolated manuscript which contains the Cena Trimalchionis.

1. The fuller collection of excerpts are known to us from a sixteenth century manuscript, called Codex Leidensis, copied by the hand of J. J. Scaliger. Scaliger seems to have copied this manuscript during a stay in Valentia from 1570-1572. His sources apparently were the manuscripts of Cujas¹ (1522-1590) and the edition of Sambucus published in Antwerp in 1565.²

Two editions of the sixteenth century moreover have preserved a text resembling that of Scaliger. First there is the edition published in 1575 by Jean de Tournes (Tornaesius). In his preface the editor indicates that, besides the Paris edition of 1520, he has made use of the edition of Sambucus, the Catalecta published in 1573 by Scaliger, and two manuscripts, one belonging to Cujas, the other to a physician of Lyon, named Daléchamp.

Secondly there is the edition published in Paris by Pierre Pithou, who mentioned as sources for his text a manuscript from Auxerre, a manuscript belonging to Jean, Duke of Berry, the Codex Tolosanus, the Codex Vetus Benedictinum Exemplar, and the

¹ Further research does not yield any information on Cujas' manuscript. It is only mentioned in connection with Scaliger and the edition published by Jean de Tournes. It is not known whether the scholar who wrote erudite commentaries on the Satyricon (v. p. 28) used this manuscript. We may assume that the manuscript was not widely known and made use of in Spain, since no edition based on this manuscript was published in that country and interest in the Satyricon in general was negligible in Spain.

² Petronii Arbitri Satyricon, ed. Konrad Müller (Ernst Heimeran Verlag: München, 1961), p. xiv.

Codex Memmianus. None of these manuscripts has been preserved except a few fragments of the Codex Memmianus and the manuscript of Auxerre.

The manuscripts belonging to this group are designated by the letter L.

2. The manuscripts of the excerpta vulgaria are much more numerous. The oldest and most trustworthy manuscript is the Codex Bernensis dating from the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century. Undoubtedly this is the same as the manuscript of Auxerre used by Pithou for his edition of the Satyricon. This group of manuscripts is our authority for the abridged collection of excerpts and is known collectively as O.

The manuscripts belonging to group O preserve very little of the text of the Satyricon. The Cena, of which the L group has at least the beginning, does not exist. The end of the novel is completely lost. In the preserved parts details have disappeared, phrases are cut short, even the words themselves have been partly modified. The text is also very doubtful, and frequently there is no certainty whether the original or an adaptation is involved. Only the poetic fragments have been copied rather faithfully. In some manuscripts of Group O only detached sentences or stories are found, notably the story of the Matron of Ephesus and the poem on the Civil War.

3. The Codex Traguriensis (Paris 7989) of the fifteenth century is our sole authority for the Cena Trimalchionis, save for a very few brief excerpts in L and O. This manuscript, known as H, was discovered in 1650 at Trau in Dalmatia. It contains the text of the Satyricon as preserved in the excerpta vulgaria

followed by the Cena Trimalchionis. The two fragments are written by the same hand, but are derived from different sources.

The date of this manuscript is fixed by an entry 1423 di 20 novemb., but it is conjectured to be derived from a ninth or tenth century original.¹ It appears that the Cena, which in 1650 was hailed as a new discovery, first came to light in 1423,² but vanished immediately afterwards so completely that its existence remained unknown until the discovery at Trau.³ The mysterious disappearance of the Trau manuscript was doubtless accompanied by the suppression or destruction of the particula from which the Cena was copied.⁴

The first editions of Petronius based on the bad manuscripts

¹E. T. Sage, "The text tradition of Petronius", AJPh L (1929), pp. 21-40.

²Clark has a theory that Poggio discovered the portion of Petronius containing the Cena in England in 1420 and sent it to Niccolo Niccoli. He bases his conclusion on a letter written by Poggio to Niccoli in May 1423 after Poggio's return to Italy from England in 1423. In this letter Poggio mentions the discovery of a manuscript of the Satyricon in Cologne, which he ordered to be copied, and then continues: "mittas ad me oro bucolicam Calpurnii et particulam Petronii quas misi tibi ex Britannia". Clark draws the conclusion that the particula discovered in England was the Cena, while the Cologne manuscript, copied by Poggio's order, belonged to the vulgar family. Clark is of the opinion that his theory is supported by the fact that John of Salisbury, who spent much of his life at Canterbury before becoming bishop of Chartres, is the only medieval scholar who seems to have possessed a manuscript of the Cena. (Classical Review XXII [1908], p. 178).

²Müller (op cit., p. xxix) is of the opinion that the Cena was included in the manuscript found by Poggio at Cologne in 1423.

³"Cenam ex illo tempore prorsus latuisse ut ne minimum quidem eius usquam appareret vestigium constat, dum medio fere saeculo XVII codex ille anno 1423 conscriptus tandem Tragurii tamquam ab inferis excitatus rediit in lucem." (Müller, op. cit., p. xxxiii).

⁴"Quid Cenae codice Poggiano deinde factum sit ignoramus." (Müller, op. cit., p. xxxii).

of the excerpta vulgaria are only of historical interest. The editio princeps undoubtedly is that by Franciscus Puteolanus published in Milan in 1482. Not until the edition of Sambucus¹ was considerable improvement in the condition of the text noticeable. This edition was in turn surpassed by the editions of Tournes and Pithou.²

The Trau fragment was published separately in 1664 in Padua for the first time. In 1669 this fragment jointly with other excerpts of Petronius was published in Amsterdam by Michael Hadrianides, to whom we owe the first "complete" text of the Satyricon. This text has frequently been re-edited.

As previously mentioned³ the name of Petronius is less and less frequently mentioned as from the seventh century. Manitius also says that Petronius does not seem to have been a very well-known author during the Middle Ages. In a manuscript of Herric of Auxerre, (841-876) among other excerpts, are found "auszüge aus Petronius den man hier zuerst im Mittelalter begegnet, da Becker nach Omont erst ins elfte Jahrhundert fällt, und die nächste von mir gefundene Erwähnung eines Hs. erst ca. 1482 stattfindet, ein Umstand der deutlich beweist, das Petron zu den seltensten Autoren gehört hat."⁴ Müller is also of this opinion. He says that the fact that Niccolo Niccoli had never heard of Petronius is conclusive evidence that Petronius was a virtually

¹ Supra, p. 20.

² Supra, pp. 20-21

³ Supra, p. 19.

⁴ M. Manitius, Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, Erster Band, (München: CH. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung), p. 502.

unknown author in Italy during the Middle Ages and the beginning of the period of the Renaissance.¹

Clark also mentions that the first mention of Petronius at the period of the Renaissance is to be found in a letter of Poggio to Niccolo Niccoli written from London on June 13th, 1420. He concludes that if Niccolo Niccoli was unacquainted with Petronius, it would be very improbable that anyone else was.²

It may be assumed then, that manuscripts of the Satyricon were not widely read and popular during the Middle Ages and the period of the Renaissance. In order to elaborate on this rather general statement however, it seems desirable to examine Petronius' influence on medieval literature in Italy, France and Spain separately.

In Italy Petronius was very little known throughout the Middle Ages. The first appearance of anything even indirectly connected with Petronius' work was a greatly modified version of the

¹"Anno 1420 Poggius Florentinus qui iam usque ab extremo anno 1418 in Britannia degebat, codicem reperit Petronii excerpta vulgaria continentem. illa aetate memoria Petronii apud Italos prorsus extincta erat, ut etiam Nicolaus Niccolus qui tūm diligentissimus investigator antiquitatis existimabatur, quem Poggius de codice a se reperto fecerat certiore, nullam Petronii haberet notitiam."
(Müller, op. cit., pp. viii-ix).

²A. J. Clark, "The Trau Manuscript of Petronius," Classical Review XXII (1908), p. 179.

story of the Matron of Ephesus¹ in the anonymous collection of novelle which is now generally known under the title Novellino and is assigned to the last part of the thirteenth century.²

Petronius is mentioned once by Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) in his De Genealogia Deorum in connection with the story of myrrh: "Ut videtur velle Petronius Arbiter plurimum libidini conferens adeo ut afferat se ad libidinis incrementum mirrinum potasse poculum."³ This reference to Petronius Boccaccio derived from Fulgentius.⁴ He may have known more about Petronius and his work from Fulgentius and other sources; but nowhere in his work does Boccaccio seem to show any direct or even indirect Petronian influence.⁵ On the whole Petronius'

¹This story was not original with Petronius. A Chinese version of the novelle is known. Grisebach is able to prove a connection between the Chinese widow and a Chinese work translated from the Sanskrit. He draws the conclusion that India is the birthplace of the Chinese legend. Furthermore he argues that Petronius became familiar with the story when he was proconsul in Bithynia and brought it back to Rome with him. Eumolpus says that it is a true story and that the events actually took place in Ephesus. However, this statement should be attributed to the artistic license of the storyteller. The cities of Asia Minor already before Petronius' time provided a cultural link between East and West, also with respect to literature. Grisebach's final conclusion is that the Roman and Chinese novelle both have their origin in an Indian legend and the Chinese version is by far the older.

E. Grisebach, Die Wanderung der Novelle von der Treulosen Witwe durch die Welt-literatur (Berlin: F. & P. Lehmann, 1889).

²A. Rini, Petronius in Italy from the thirteenth century to the present time, (New York: Capablanca Press, 1937), p.5.

³Ibid., p. 14.

⁴Fulgentius, Mythologicon III, p. 73.

⁵In the Decamerone there is one story (Second Day, Second Tale) which, however remotely, recalls to the reader's mind Petronius' story of the Matron of Ephesus. It tells of a certain merchant, Rinaldo d'Asti, who, one cold night, after being robbed, found shelter at a castle, where a beautiful widow was living. The woman gave him some clothes of her dead husband to wear and entertained him at dinner. She was quickly attracted to the man, who was tall, handsome and young, and encouraged by her maid to follow her inclination, she cleverly offered herself to him.

influence on Italian literature seems to be negligible. Rini states: "The general indifference in Italy towards Petronius is strikingly evinced by the absence of any clear traces of his influence in Italian literature".¹

In France the most important medieval author who read and quoted Petronius was Jean de Salisbry, bishop of Chartres (1120-1180).² He excerpted the story of the Matron of Ephesus and included it in his work Polieraticus de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum continens libros octo. In the edition of 1513 the story of the faithless widow is copied word for word from a manuscript of the Satyricon belonging to the O group.³ According to Collignon this version has been the source for subsequent authors who made use of the story.⁴

In spite of the evidence of the story of the Matron of Ephesus,⁵ the fact that Petronius was not published in France until 1520 indicates that his popularity and renown were practically negligible during the period of the genesis of the literature of roguery. Even after 1520 Petronius did not become well-known immediately. Collignon says: "Au XVI siècle, nos grands écrivains parlent peu de Pétrone."⁶

¹A. Rini, op. cit., p. 99.

²E. Grisebach, op. cit., p. 38.

³E. T. Sage (CPh XI [1916] p. 11) says that John of Salisbry knew all parts of Petronius, and that this manuscript may have been of type O, but also containing the Cena, unless he was in possession of a manuscript which contained the Cena separately.

⁴Collignon, Pétrone en France, p. 16.

⁵E. T. Sage, in his article "The text tradition of Petronius" (AJPh L [1929] pp. 21.40), states that in the Middle Ages the story of the Matron of Ephesus circulated more widely without the name of Petronius than with it. He also mentions this period as being the one during which Petronius was least known.

⁶Collignon, op. cit., p. 35.

It was not until after the publication of the Cena Trimalchionis that Petronius became en vogue in France. The publication of the Trau manuscript gave an enormous impetus to Petronian studies in France. From 1668-1693 twelve editions of the Satyricon were published.¹

The interest in Petronius then was not awakened until after 1664, and it is from this date forward that one perceives some Petronian influence on French literature. More than one French novel has been inspired by what is called the esprit Petronien.² Collignon goes so far as to say that especially during the seventeenth century Petronius has contributed to French literature a veneer of elegance and politeness. He also feels that there is a definite influence of Petronius on authors like Merimée, Flaubert, Guy de Maupassant and Anatole France.³

Be that as it may, this thesis is concerned only with Petronian influence on the picaresque genre. The late discovery of the Trau manuscript and the fact that no edition of Petronius' novel appeared in France before 1520 makes it highly improbable that the Satyricon served as a model for the authors of the early French literature of roguery.

¹G. Bagnani, Arbiter of Elegance, p. 84.

²Collignon, op. cit., p. 177.

³"Nos conteurs ont retrouvé chez lui quelques-unes de nos plus précieuses qualités, la finesse de l'observation et la précision parfois toute réaliste du rendu, le tour alerte et humoristique du récit, le pittoresque de l'expression, la piquante vivacité et la variété du style. Volontiers même, en raison des traits de ressemblance de son esprit avec l'esprit français, notre histoire littéraire se l'annexerait."
Collignon, op. cit., p. 178.

In Spain there was even less interest in Petronius than in France and Italy. The Satyricon, unlike the Metamorphoses of Apuleius, was neither published in Spain nor translated into Spanish.¹

The only author who showed a scholarly interest in the Satyricon was Don Jusepe Antonio Gonzalez de Salas (1588-1654), who wrote erudite commentaries on the novel.²

Menendez Pelayo makes the following comment: "Petronio ha influido muy poco en la literatura moderna española. Los antiguos humanistas no le citaban ni le comentaban más que en latín."³

It is important to emphasize that in Spain, the country where the picaresque novel first saw the light, the Satyricon and the name of Petronius were virtually unknown.

To sum up, we have seen that in Italy Petronius was unknown to the greatest classical scholar of the Renaissance until the discovery of a manuscript in England, which perhaps included the Cena Trimalchionis, in 1420; that the most important fragment of the Satyricon, the Cena Trimalchionis disappeared from 1423-1650; that a study of Petronian influence on Italian literature produced negative results. We have also seen that in France, interest in Petronius was awakened only after the publication of the Trau manuscript in 1664;

¹ Thomas Henry, Short title catalogue of books printed in Spain and of Spanish books printed elsewhere in Europe before 1601 and now in the British Museum (London, 1921).

² Homero Seris, Manual de Bibliografía de la Literatura Española (New York: Centro de Estudios Hispánicos, Hall of Languages, 1948).

² Juan Hurtado de la Serna y Angel Gonzales Palencia, Historia de la Literatura Española (Madrid: 1943), p. 732.

³ Menendez Pelayo, Antología General (Madrid: Biblioteca de autores cristianos, 1956), p. 390.

and, most important of all, that in Spain, where the picaresque novel originated during the first half of the sixteenth century, the name of Petronius and the Satyricon were virtually unknown.

It may be concluded then, that Petronian influence on the literatures of Italy, France and Spain during the Middle Ages and the period that the picaresque novel came into existence was negligible. It seems therefore improbable that the Satyricon was a source for the early European romances of roguery.

CHAPTER III

LAZARILLO DE TORMES, THE FIRST EUROPEAN PICARESQUE NOVEL

The first European romance of roguery was a little book, seven chapters in all, entitled La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades. It appeared in the year 1554,¹ toward the close of the reign of the Emperor Charles V at the moment of Spain's maximum power and prestige. It was an anonymous work whose author has never been identified in spite of persistent scholarly research, although it has been attributed to various of the most important writers of the epoch.²

Its influence was wholly disproportionate to its size. Not only did it create a new literary genre,³ setting its stamp on all

¹F. W. Chandler, Romances of Roguery, p. 186.

²Ibid., pp. 192-194.

³"El verdadero padre de los libros picarescos fué el Lazarillo de Tórmes". Navarrate, Bosquejo historico sobre la novella espanola, p. xvii.

"L'histoire littéraire voit à juste titre dans notre roman le prototype de la nouvelle picaresque; elle fait de Lazarillo le père de toutes ces gueuseries".

A. Morel Fatio, Preface to La vie de Lazarillo de Tormes (Paris: 1886), p. ii.

"Die Gattung von Schelmenromanen würde ihre Einführung und Ausbildung noch dadurch begünstigt dasz gleich ihr Prototyp ein Meisterwerk war. Wir haben damit das so berühmt gewordene Leben des Lazarillo de Tormes genannt".

F. Wolf, Jahrbücher der Literatur, CXXII (1848), p. 99.

"Avec le Lazarillo ce n'est pas seulement le roman picaresque qui naît c'est un peu le roman tout court, cette grande nouveauté des littératures modernes".

M. Bataillon, Le roman picaresque, (Paris: La Renaissance de Livre), p. 3.

picaresque novels which fifty years later would appear first in Spain, and then in the rest of Europe, it also set the style for many of the modes that the new literary form - the novel - was to assume. The work was a mordant social satire, all the more telling for its apparent artlessness, and the device of its being seen through the eyes of an initially innocent boy. It is deceptively simple in style and language. The author, for all his erudition and classical learning, of which there is abundant evidence, knew how to give the narrative the quality of authenticity, using the language its protagonist would have employed, that of the street and the marketplace.

This uninhibited, pithy style¹ is one of the book's great charms. All the elements that would consequently appear in the flood of picaresque or picaresque-inspired novels were already present in Lazarillo; the auto-biographical form, the sly, terse humor, the unabashed honesty, not to say cynicism, the criticism of society, the didactic moralizing intent.

But the economy of form, the agility of narration that characterize the work never allow it to become tedious as is often the case with its successors. Lazarillo told his tale with verve and directness. With the very first sentence he gives his name and the name of his parents, and with the second sets the scene of his birth. Unimpeded the narrative moves forward, tracing the rogue's adventures from master to master in the order of his service and with never a

¹ "Mais c'est surtout par la fréquentation des meilleurs romans picaresques du XVI^e siècle commençant que l'on devient sensible à l'originalité du ton que le Lazarillo a fait entendre pour la première fois: il est devenu le ton du genre. Un Mateo Aleman, un Quevedo seront invinciblement pris par ce mélange d'enfance et de maturité, de naïveté et de cynisme."

M. Bataillon, op. cit., p. 7.

backward glance. When one employer is left for another that is the last of him. Of his first master Lazarillo says: "No supe más lo que Dios de dél hizo, ni curé de lo saber."¹

Only four episodes were wrought out in detail, corresponding to four degrees of service, the first with a blind beggar, and the others with a miserly priest, a poor squire, and an indulgence-seller. Beyond these Lazarillo's masters were figures in outline, a busy-body friar who ran the boy's legs off, a painter, merely mentioned, who consigned him to color-mixing, a chaplain who hired him as a water-carrier, a constable who hired him as a bailiff, and finally and best of all, the royal government itself. In the office of public crier he forgot his past anxieties and pains, for if only as auctioneer he was still in the service of the Emperor.

With the breaking up of feudalism the ambition of all classes was leading towards this objective, namely the service of the Emperor. The picaresque had come up somehow through blows, and by supplementing chance with cheating tricks, to a position of comparative ease. The archpriest of Salvador, whose wine he had peddled, gives him his own housekeeper to wed. Lazarillo, after one brief misunderstanding with his patron and the lady concerning whispers of scandal, agrees that the bride shall resort as often as she please by night or day to the archpriest's house. Nor does he regret his complacency. To all the world he vows that his wife is as good as any in Toledo, conferring on him more benefits than he can hope to deserve. And so, with a touch of self-irony, the book ends.

¹ Dos novelas picarescas, El Lazarillo de Tormes, Anonimo, Colección Hispanica (Golden City, New York: Doubleday & Co. Inc., 1961), p. 27.

In the plan of the whole, and in the treatment of the four main episodes, however, lies the chief originality of the story; for it seems as if the early portion alone had been completed, and the rest laid down simply in a scheme for further elaboration. There the masters are catalogued, but rarely described or satirized; while with the initial portion they are drawn and rounded out.

The first episode, Lazarillo's adventures with the blind beggar, is partly based on popular folktale. Jests of blind men and their servants had long circulated not only in the Peninsula, but through Europe. One of these, a farce entitled Le Garçon et l'Aveugle was played at Tournai in 1277 and has the same subject as the first episode of Lazarillo de Tormes.¹ Also the discovery of early fourteenth-century drawings of scenes included among Lazarillo's cheats upon his blind master confirms that the author of the first picaresque novel had borrowed from the stage certain incidents adaptable to the general trend of his plan.²

In the second episode Lazarillo is the acolyte of a miserly priest, compared to whom the blind beggar was an Alexander. During service with this master the only times Lazarillo ate well occurred at wakes. Consequently every time that the last rites were administered to a sick person, Lazarillo would fervently pray the Lord, not that His will be done, but that the patient would be carried off from this world. He invents many ingenious tricks to get the sacramental loaves of bread which were locked away in a chest, but finally he is found out and instantly dismissed.

¹ F. M. Warren, History of the Novel Previous to the Seventeenth Century (New York: 1895), p. 296.

² F. W. Chandler, op cit., p. 199.

True comedy marks the third episode, Lazarillo's service with the jaunty and starving squire. In him all Spain was satirized, the Spain of early decadence that preferred to seem rather than to be. The delicacy and depth of the relationship between master and servant is one of the finest strokes in this novel. Lazarillo's other masters, mean and avaricious though they were, at least kept him, after a fashion; whereas it was he who had to maintain the squire, sharing with him the alms he begged in the streets of Toledo, or, when this was no longer possible, starving with him. Nevertheless, Lazarillo loved and admired him, and deplored their separation. This understanding and affection between two beings who represent completely opposite concepts and values anticipates the relationship between Don Quixote and Sancho Panza.¹

In the fourth episode the theme of hunger is abandoned. As a matter of fact this episode is little more than a refurbished tale from Massuccio's collection of Italian stories Il Novellino, (1476) where in the fourth novella Fra Girolamo of Spoleto makes the people of Sorrento believe that a bone he exhibits is the arm of St. Luke. An accomplice contradicts this statement, whereupon Fra Girolamo prays to God for a demonstration of the truth of his words by the working of a miracle. Then the accomplice feigns to fall down dead, and Fra Girolamo by prayer restores him to life, collecting through the fame of this

¹ The character of the poor, proud squire was too interesting not to be noted at home and abroad, and even brought upon the stage. The closest dramatic transcription was Brederoo's Spaansche Brabander in Dutch of 1617. There the Jonkheer Jerohimo Rodrigo stalks down the streets of Amsterdam, as Lazarillo's master through those of Toledo; but even Brederoo never thought to alter his hero's nationality along with the language. To the bone the hidalgo was Spanish, a type of the people and the country; and Spanish he remained.

W. J. Jonckbloet, Geschiedenis der nederlandsche Letterkunde (Groningen, 1881), p. 86.

double miracle a great sum of money, becoming a prelate, and thereafter leading a lazy life with his comrade.¹

This realistic Spanish novel, Lazarillo de Tormes, made its appearance in circumstances very similar to those in which the novel of Petronius was written. In both cases the same phase of society is represented. The state of society in Spain in the sixteenth century, when the picaresque novel appeared, was similar to that of Italy in the first century of our era.²

As already mentioned³ there is a certain resemblance between the Spanish picaresque novel in general and its Latin predecessor. Both are rogue stories; both are autobiographical; both are based on a careful study of society. The Spanish authors as well as the Roman made free use of the folktale. Their work like that of Petronius has a marked element of satire in it; and it bears the same relation to the romance of chivalry that the novel of Petronius bears to the Greek romance. Such a marked resemblance of treatment would on a priori grounds lead one to think that the authors of the first Spanish picaresque novels found the inspiration in the Satyricon of Petronius. By many scholars Encolpius has been hailed as the forerunner of the

¹F. W. Chandler, op. cit., p. 208.

²F. W. Chandler, op. cit., p. 25,

³Supra, p. 16.

Spanish rogues.¹ Also, the facts that most of the Peninsular picaresque authors were classicists and that Petronius in the seventeenth century had a special vogue, have been adduced as proving a probable bond between the Satyricon and the romances of roguery. But the low-life adventures of the decadent voluptuary or the excesses of the feast of Trimalchio have little in common with the ups and downs of the picaro in service.²

As has been previously pointed out³ Petronius was virtually unknown in Spain during the period prior to the appearance of Lazarillo de Tormes. No edition of the Satyricon was published in Spain, no translation of the novel was made. It was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that a Spanish scholar became interested in the Satyricon and wrote commentaries on it.⁴

Although there is a basic resemblance between Petronius' Satyricon and Lazarillo de Tormes a detailed study shows that there is not the remotest connection between the novels. A careful examination of the contents does not reveal any analogies or parallels.

It seems therefore reasonable to dismiss the Satyricon as a source for Lazarillo de Tormes. Consequently, since Lazarillo de Tormes is undisputably the first European romance of roguery, the Satyricon should be dismissed as a possible source for the European

¹ See Foreword, footnote 1.

² F. W. Chandler, op. cit., p. 4.

³ Supra, p. 28.

⁴ Ibid.

picaresque novel in general,¹ and other possible sources should be examined.

¹

F. M. Warren claims that the picaresque novel is an entirely original Spanish invention.

"And so far as the picaresco novel is concerned, while it lacks any known antecedents in the peninsula - or elsewhere for that matter - its whole spirit and scene is thoroughly and entirely Spanish."

(op. cit., p. 237.)

CHAPTER IV

PROBABLE SOURCES OF THE PICARESQUE NOVEL

An examination of another Latin novel, the Golden Ass (or Metamorphoses) of Apuleius reveals a much closer resemblance to the picaresque genre than is found between the Satyricon and the romance of roguery.¹ The Ass in his change of master bears a closer analogy to the picaro and his vicissitudes than does any other type in classical literature.

Bataillon says that the Ass of Apuleius is the only possible forerunner of the picaresque novel.² Menendez Pelayo agrees

¹There seems to be absolutely no connection between the Satyricon and the Golden Ass. No traces of influence of Petronius on Apuleius can be found. Schanz-Hosius (III, s.v. "Apuleius"), Schwabe, (RE, s.v. "Apuleius"), J. Wight Duff, (A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age), pp. 153-154, H. J. Rose, (A Handbook of Latin Literature), pp. 520-523, do not mention any connection between the two novels. This seems understandable in view of the difference in conception and treatment of the Satyricon and the Golden Ass. The subject of the Satyricon is largely centered on realistic scenes of low life as the principal characters are freedmen and slaves. The Golden Ass deals with the experiences of an intellectual, supremely interested in magic, folklore and religion. Through the Satyricon runs a satyric vein of laughter and its language is crisp and colloquial. The Golden Ass is romantic in tone; even its most extravagant episodes are treated seriously. The language is artificial, polished and elaborate. The Satyricon is written in verse and prose; the Golden Ass solely in prose. The two novels contain common elements of tales of adventures and love, but these elements are too few to indicate a connection between the two works. The conclusion may be drawn that Petronius did not influence Apuleius and so did not influence the picaresque novel indirectly.

²"Si l'on tient absolument à trouver au roman picaresque un précurseur dans la littérature de fiction, et un précurseur qui puisse avoir influé en quelque façon sur sa naissance, je n'en vois guère d'autre que L'Ane d'Or d'Apulée, populaire en Espagne des 1512 dans l'agréable traduction du chanoine sevillan Diego Lopez de Cortegana. Encore ne faut-il pas oublier que le roman latin est infiniment plus complexe, et que là même où le récit de Lucius fait pressentir le roman picaresque par un sorte de réalisme ingénu et amoral, ce réalisme sonne un peu faux, parce que la métamorphose du héros l'a ravalé au-dessous de l'humanité la plus humble, jusqu'au niveau de la bête de somme." M. Bataillon, op. cit., p. 3.

with him that the Golden Ass has been a source of inspiration to the authors of the picaresque genre.¹

Moreover, Bataillon mentions a Spanish translation of the Asinus Aureus printed in 1512,² and this statement is corroborated by Fonger de Haan.³ It is significant that this translation antedates the appearance of Lazarillo de Tormes by forty-one years.

A brief outline of the Ass's adventures may be sufficient to illustrate that Lucius, the man beneath the ass's hide, is a precursor of the many picares who follow him in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Lucius Apuleius, the hero of the Golden Ass, was transformed into an ass by accident while engaging in magical practices with Fotis, the servant-girl of Pamphile, who was supposed to be the most dangerous magician in Thessaly. In this shape he retained his former feelings and understanding, but was told by Fotis that he could not be restored to the human form except by eating rose leaves. The story relates how Lucius was occupied with the search after this valuable article, and the hardships he suffered under the degraded form to which he had been reduced.

In his ass's shape Lucius first descended to his host's

¹"El Ano de Oro de Apuleyo ha inspirado gran número de producciones dramáticas y novelescas, y aun puede añadirse que toda novela autobiográfica, y muy particularmente nuestro género picaresco de los siglos XVI y XVII y su imitación francesa el Gil Blas, deben algo a Apuleyo, si no en la materia de sus narraciones, en el cuadro general novelesco, que se presta a una holgada representación de la vida humana en todos los estados y condiciones de ella."
Menendez Pelayo, op cit., p. 392.

²Supra, p. 38, footnote 2.

³Fonger de Haan, An Outline of the History of the Novela Picaresca in Spain (New York: 1903), p. 96.

stable, where he was very roughly treated by his own horse and his host's ass. This stable was broken into by robbers who, having pillaged the home, loaded the horse and the two asses which they found in the stable with the booty. Almost sinking under the weight of his burden Lucius arrived at the abode of the robbers. He was employed in different expeditions with the robbers; he also made several abortive attempts to escape from their power. At length, with the help of a stranger who represented himself as a celebrated robber, but who actually was the husband of a young lady, kidnapped and kept imprisoned by the robbers, Lucius escaped from the robbers' cave together with the young lady and her husband.

This new master of Apuleius determined that he should be sent to his mares in the country to aid in the propagation of mules. Unfortunately the groom he was entrusted to had a wife, who marred his amorous expectations and set him to turn a mill. His situation was not improved when the groom, at length recalling his orders, sent him on the service to which he was originally destined. He met with a most inhospitable reception from some horses who were his fellow-suitors.

After this mortification, Lucius was employed to bring burdens of wood from the mountains under the guidance of a boy who treated him with the utmost cruelty. After various adventures in the service of this master Lucius arrived at length in a populous town, where he fell into the hands of an old eunuch, one of the priests of the Great Goddess of Syria. While in his possession Lucius was witness to the dreadful debaucheries of the ministers of that divinity. In their service he met with several adventures, but finally was sold, at the market of one of the towns through which he passed, to a baker.

He next fell into the possession of a gardener, from whom he was forcibly carried off by a Roman soldier. He then was sold to two brothers who lived together; the one was the cook, the other the pastry-cook, of a man of wealth and importance.

It was discovered by the two brothers that their ass had a predilection for human dainties and they gave an account of this piece of epicurism to their master Thyassus. Lucius was purchased by him and taught a variety of tricks by one of his master's freedmen. The possession of this animal threw much lustre on the proprietor in the estimation of his fellow-citizens, and consequently Thyassus was appointed chief magistrate of Corinth for five consecutive years. Lucius was also of great value to the freedman who had charge of him, as he was exhibited for money to the inhabitants.

A splendid fê^{te} was now given by his master, in honor of his election to the magistracy. It was decided that, to enliven the show, Lucius would be married in public to a woman who had been sentenced to be thrown to the wild beasts. Lucius recoiled from this and fled unperceived to the seashore. There, inspired with sentiments of devotion, he purified himself and addressed a long prayer to the great goddess Isis. She appeared to him in a dream and announced the end of his misfortunes. At the festival celebrated in Isis' honor Lucius resumed his former shape, and was initiated into her rites. The rest of his life was devoted to her services.

From this brief outline then we see how Apuleius described society through the narrative of one in servitude. His passage from master to master afforded opportunities for observation and satire. Although Lucius was no rogue, but rather the victim of unhappy chance and his own curiosity, his various adventures and vicissitudes bear a

close analogy to those of the *picaro* of the sixteenth and seventeenth century novels.

In some of these novels the method of Apuleius is copied even to the insertion of anecdote and extraneous incident. Some of these incidents moreover were taken bodily into the Spanish and subsequent fictions. In the Golden Ass we find the famous story of Cupid and Psyche told by the old hag in the robber's cave to the young lady the robbers had taken captive. In Gil Blas,¹ which takes from the Golden Ass the cave setting, the old hag cook, and the imprisoned young lady,² the anecdotes are provided by the life histories of the three robber-chieftains, and the love-story of the captured girl. Don Quixote's battle with the wine-skins³ is clearly indebted to Lucius' encounter with the three wine-skins which he mistook for robbers.⁴

We may conclude therefore that the resemblance between the Golden Ass of Apuleius and the picaresque novel remains too strong to have been purely fortuitous. Allowing for the absence of roguery in the hero, the Golden Ass may be deemed an important model of the picaresque novel. As mentioned,⁵ a Spanish translation of the Asinus Aureus was printed in 1512, and it is significant that this was forty-one years prior to the appearance of Lazarillo de Tormes. Moreover, one Spanish romance of roguery (La Picara Justina, 1605) expressly mentions the Golden Ass as one of its patterns.⁶

¹I, 3 - 12.

²III, 28 and VIII, 15.

³IV, 8.

⁴II, 32 - III, 12.

⁵Supra, p. 39.

⁶Chandler, op. cit., p. 5.

Therefore it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that Apuleius supplied the idea of the form of the picaresque novel and must be considered as a source for the European romance of roguery.

Though the form and some of the incidents are to be derived from Apuleius, the principal content of the picaresque novel was a slow independent growth of the Middle Ages. There are several sources dating from the Middle Ages which display the characteristics prominent in the picaresque novel. We have seen that satire and the satirizing of all classes of society is one of the most important characteristics of the romance of roguery. This characteristic is found par excellence in the Dance of Death poetry.

The Dance of Death was a favorite theme for writers and painters everywhere in Europe during the Middle Ages.¹ It is significant that Spain possesses the finest extant specimen of the genre in the Danza de la Muerte, dating from the first years of the fifteenth century, and that this is the oldest version known.²

Fitzmaurice-Kelly is of the opinion that the Danza de la Muerte seems likely to be a recast of some unknown French original.³ He also says that it evidently bears a relationship to the Totentanz (1463) of Lübeck and the Dance Macabre of the Saints Innocents de Paris (1478).⁴ It seems therefore that the Dance of Death theme was universally known and popular in Europe during the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

¹G. T. Northup, op. cit., p. 66.

²Ibid.

³J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, A New History of Spanish Literature (Oxford: University Press, 1926), p. 83.

⁴Ibid.

The Spanish version consists of seventy-nine stanzas, written in twelve-syllable octaves; it is cast in dramatic form.¹ The poem follows the traditional pattern, according to which Death proclaims his sovereignty and then summons to his court all those who must pay him tribute. Thirty-three victims pass before him, from emperor and pope down to the lowest classes, clergy alternating with laity. Thus the emperor is balanced against the pope, the king against the cardinal, and so on down to the lowest social orders. As each social type passes in judgment, having whined out an octave of protest against Death, his defense is shattered by Death's merciless recital of his sins and shortcomings. This framework affords an excellent opportunity for satire and criticism. The author pays his respects to every social category and indicates the sins of each calling. The merchant, lawyer, doctor, usurer, loose living monk, the sacristan, Jew and Moor, types so severely treated in the later farces and the picaresque novel, are here flayed without mercy. The dignitaries of the Church fare no better than the laymen. As a matter of fact it is interesting to note that more than half of those summoned are clerics.

According to Northup the Danza de la Muerte is the most important bit of satirical writing in early Spanish literature.² We have seen that satire and criticism of the Church is very much in evidence in this poem. This element of satire on all classes of society, and particularly the Church, which also figures so prominently in literature of the picaresque genre, makes the Danza de la Muerte a likely source for the romance of roguery.

¹G. T. Northup, op. cit., p. 67.

²G. T. Northup, op. cit., p. 66.

Moreover, it is known that the Dance of Death theme continued to be popular in Spain during the sixteenth century.¹ It seems reasonable to suggest therefore, that the authors of the picaresque novels to a certain extent were influenced by the Dance of Death poetry.

A third source for the picaresque genre may be looked for in the Roman de Renart. The Roman de Renart is not a coherent unity, but a collection of stories or "branches" whose number and sequence is different in the various manuscripts. The sequence is often arbitrary and the branches were composed at different periods during the twelfth and thirteenth century, and by different authors.²

In its complete form the Roman de Renart consists of some thirty-thousand eight-syllable verses, divided into twenty-seven branches, sixteen of which antedate the rest and give the main thread of the narrative.³ The sixteen branches relate how Renart the Fox, and Ysengrin the Wolf, wage a hard-fought struggle of cunning and strength, until, apparently vanquished, the Fox is carried forth in funeral procession by the court of Noble the Lion. But Renart's death is only feigned, and before the end of the would-be burial, to the amazement and terror of the other animals, he is in full flight. Thus

¹"El pensamiento de esta obra se reproduce en el Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón de Alfonso de Valdés (que es una Danza transformada y influida por el espíritu de Renacimiento); en la Farsa llamada Danza de la Muerte de Juan de Pedraza (impresa en 1551); en Las Cortes de la Muerte, drama comenzado por Micael de Corvajal y terminado por Luis Hurtado (Toledo, 1557)."

Juan Hurtado de la Serna y Angel Gonzalez Palencia, Historia de la Literatura Española, p. 196.

²The Epic of the Beast, ed. William Rose (London: Routledge & Sons Ltd. ND), p. xxiv.

³Nitze & Dargan, History of French Literature (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1922), p. 75.

Renart is really immortal, ever ready to begin his tricks anew. These tricks are the subject of the various branches that comprise the Roman de Renart.

The later branches, written in the thirteenth century, are particularly imbued with the satiric spirit. For example in the branch called Renart le Bestourné the author Rutebeuf centres all his rage and feelings of rancour on the mendicant orders. The branch called Renart le Nouvel is a long satirical allegory against the Church and the feudal society of the end of the thirteenth century. Both are accused of caring only for money and power. In the fourteenth century the author of Renart le Contrefait pretends to teach us the only means of success, L'art de Renart, based on guile and flattery. This spirit governs the whole world. Renart's tail becomes the emblem of falsity and hypocrisy, of lies and cheating; Renart's principles are those of all those men who want power and success.¹

A few examples of Renart's tricks in the earlier branches may indicate how Renart, the rogue hero, went a long way toward preparing for the advent of the picaro.

It is winter and in his castle of Maupertuis Renart is roasting eels, which he has taken by fraud from some fishmongers. Ysengrin, hungry and tempted by the smell of the fish, begs Renart to open the door to him and offer him dinner. "Impossible," Renart answers, "I have entered a monastery and the fish I am preparing is only served to monks." Ysengrin decides to become a monk. Renart sets out by shaving his head, then he sends Ysengrin fishing for his initia-

¹ J. Flinn, Le Roman de Renart dans la littérature française et dans les littératures étrangères (University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 479-480.

tion test. Through a hole in the ice, which covers the pond, Ysengrin, at Renart's advice, dangles his tail in the water. Renart has attached a bucket to Ysengrin's tail. The wolf sits and waits and finally is frozen fast in the ice. At dawn hunters attack him and he escapes only by leaving behind his tail.

Another episode relates how at the court of Noble the Lion, Renart's enemies, during his absence accuse him of manifold crimes. At that point there enters the funeral train of a new victim of Renart's tricks, dame Coupée, the hen. The king issues an order for Renart to appear in court. Successively Brown the Bear and Tibert the Cat, the messengers of Noble, are sent to summon Renart. They return in pitiable condition without bringing back the accused. Grimbart the Badger, cousin and friend of Renart finally persuades him to present himself in court. Notwithstanding his audacity Renart is condemned to the gallows. But he obtains his pardon by pretending to go on a pilgrimage. Once freed, he deceives the king and court and flees to his castle Maupertuis.

Another of Renart's exploits, as a matter of fact his main exploit, is the rape of Ysengrin's wife, Dame Hersent. This event forms the climax of branch II, about which the other branches can be grouped. Thus an attempt is made to bring Renart to justice; it fails, because Noble the Lion, with characteristic weakness, himself impugns the reliability of Hersent as a witness. What sensible man, he argues, would not doubt her word since Hersent is clearly an interested party. This then is an exquisite example of the miscarriage of justice, a masterful satire on social conditions.

These examples may suffice to show that the animals, Renart the Fox, Ysengrin the Wolf, Tibert the Cat and the rest,

were individualized characters, impelled by human motives. Renart was not the only rogue among them, but rather the most astute.¹ Fraud and deceit were glorified ironically; no class in society was exempted from attack; the spirit of chivalry was made to look ridiculous and the Church was satirized unmercifully. Flinn says that Renart undoubtedly was the greatest creation of the esprit satirique in France during the Middle Ages. It is certainly Renart who represented in popular imagination the embodiment of evil, fraud, falsity and hypocrisy in all its forms.²

Renart is an outstanding example of the typical anti-hero as he is represented in later picaresque literature. Moreover, his exploits were known in Spain, and it is found that certain popular Spanish tales bear a striking resemblance to some branches of the Roman

¹"Il arrive pourtant que Renart trouve plus malin que lui. Chose très significative, ce sont toujours des animaux plus faibles que lui, Chantecler, le coq, Tiercelin, le corbeau, Frobert, le grillon; au contraire il a raison de ceux qui sont plus puissants que lui, Ysengrin, Brun, Noble. Cette derision de la force battue par la ruse, c'était comme la revanche du peuple foulé par les feodaux."
J. Flinn, op. cit., p. 367.

²"Renart fut sans doute la plus grande création de l'esprit satirique en France au Moyen Age. Ancêtre d'une très longue lignée littéraire, c'était certainement lui qui représentait dans l'imagination populaire l'esprit du mal, de la ruse, de la fausseté, de l'hypocrisie sous toutes ses formes."
J. Flinn, op. cit., p. 483.

"Les Renards mieux que tout autre animal symbolisent les défauts et les vices des hommes. Leur ventre et leur estomac sont blancs, leur dos rouge, ils sont donc l'image des hypocrites, des gens qui portent deux pelages; ils changent souvent de poil, mais gardent leur malice; ainsi les méchants ont beau aller de pays en pays, ils portent toujours avec eux leur méchanceté."
Ibid., p. 484.

de Renart.¹ A. M. Espinosa also recognizes the fact that certain animal fables arrived in Spain during the Middle Ages through French intermediaries.²

Therefore the conclusion may be drawn that the Roman de Renart, which was marked by its sympathy with the anti-hero and indiscriminating in its satire of all classes of society, provided the early picaresque authors with its best example of a combination of consistent roguery with the satiric element.

In the Roman de Renart attention is focussed more on the actions of the rogues than on their character and personality. Such actions, as we have seen, were cheating, frauds, tricks. Similarly, in the early stages of the rogue romance, the cheating and tricks of the rogue-hero were emphasized rather than his personality. For a long time lists of these frauds and tricks had existed as a part of the stock of popular story.³ Specific examples of them were presented in great number by the fabliaux, which form another source for the picaresque genre.

A fabliau is a versified short story, usually coarse in subject matter, which prevailed in medieval France.⁴ The fabliaux flourished particularly in the thirteenth century. One of the earliest and best examples is Richeut (1170). This is the story of a

¹ Juan Nogués, Estudios sobre el Roman de Renart (su relacion con los cuentos españoles y extranjeros) Salamanca, 1956, p. 108.

² J. Flinn, op. cit., p. 508.

³ F. W. Chandler, op. cit., p. 12.

⁴ J. Bédier (Les Fabliaux, Paris, 1925, p. 30) gives the following definition of the word fabliau: "Les fabliaux son des contes à rire en vers."

courtesan who together with her son and servant plies her trade among various classes and in this way furthers her own and her offspring's career.¹

The fabliaux, just like the Roman de Renart, reflected an ironic, bourgeois spirit as opposed to the aristocratic spirit of chivalry which had hitherto prevailed. They were brief, effective, to the point, and ridiculed society.² They aimed their ridicule at the priestly class and the lofty heroes and heroines of romance; they pictured the real and practical, not the ideal or sentimental. This element of reality and practicality and the negation of the aristocratic spirit of chivalry, so prominent in novels of the picaresque genre, makes the fabliau a possible source and predecessor of the picaresque novel. Moreover, its tales of deceits and tricks provided episodes ready made for appropriation by the novel of the anti-hero.³

Not only the fabliaux but also the Italian novelle, which really were imitations of the French fabliaux,⁴ provided the picaresque novel with many of its plots. As mentioned,⁵ an episode in the

¹J. Bédier, Les Fabliaux (Paris, 1925), p. 136.

²It is interesting to note that one of the more well-known fabliaux is based on Petronius' story of the Matron of Ephesus. The fabliau De la femme qui se fist putain sur la fosse de son mari is an exact imitation of Petronius' story. This story reflects so well the spirit of irony and ridicule prevalent in the fabliaux.

³F. W. Chandler, op. cit., p. 7.

⁴J. C. Dunlop, History of Prose Fiction, ed. H. Wilson (London: George Bell and Sons, 1906), II, p. 35.

⁵Supra, p. 34.

Lazarillo de Tormes is a refurbished tale from Massucio's collection of stories Il Novellino. Chandler says that the Italian novelists Massucio, Straparola, Sacchetti and Cinthio furnished sharpening incidents later incorporated in the romances of roguery, and that, aside from mere tricks, the Italian novelle gave to the Spanish picaresque novel and its successors a host of gallant ruses and tragic situations.¹

One tale of the Cento Novelle Antiche,² a collection of Italian novelle, may suffice to show that these novelle related stories of tricks played by one person on another, and so anticipated the romance of roguery. In tale XI a doctor, named Giordano, had an assistant. When the son of the king became ill, the doctor visited him with his assistant. The doctor perceived that the prince could get better, but his assistant, wishing to bring the doctor in disrepute, told the king, that his son would surely die. While arguing with his master the assistant pretended to examine the patient's tongue and put poison in his mouth. The patient of course died, whereupon the doctor lost his reputation. His assistant however received credit for making an accurate diagnosis. The doctor had to leave the city, and his assistant took over his practice.³

In this collection of the Cento Novelle Antiche we again find in tale LVI the story of the Matron of Ephesus, certain proof that

¹F. W. Chandler, op. cit., p. 7.

²"The Cento Novelle Antiche is commonly called in Italy Il Novellino (and sometimes Il Novellino Antico in contradistinction to Massucio's Novellino); its composition is unquestionably prior to that of the Decameron of Boccaccio."
J. C. Dunlop, op. cit., p. 44

³Die Hunderd Alten Erzählungen, ed. Jacob Ulrich (Leipzig: Deutsche Verlagaktiengesellschaft, 1905), p. 25.

it was this fragment of Petronius which enjoyed the greatest popularity and renown during the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Also the Gesta Romanorum may have provided certain episodes for the picaresque novels. There are tales of tricks and frauds which may have been an inspiration to authors of the picaresque novels. One example may suffice. In tale LXXVIII, called "the Cunning of the Devil," it is shown how cleverness and cunning overcome brute force. The story tells how a prince who could not subdue his enemies when besieged, conquered them by a clever plan. He feigned flight, resigned his castle, after he had doped all the wine present in the castle's cellars. After a due lapse of time he returned, found his enemies overcome by wine and drugs, and so was able to put them all to death.¹

From the above mentioned sources we may conclude that tales of consistent roguery, satire on all classes of society and the narrations of the actions of the anti-hero were widely popular in Europe during the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Another point needs to be made however. Before the birth of the picaresque novel, separate accounts of wit employed at the expense of others began to gather around a few names. The names varied from country to country, but were of people who perhaps had really lived and won a reputation for cleverness and dissimulation. The personality of the rogue emerged from the deeds he performed. The earliest European development of the account of tricks and sharpening inci-

¹Gesta Romanorum, ed. C. Swan and Wynnard Hooper (Dover Publications Inc., 1959).

dents connected with one person is found in Germany.¹ Such collections as Brant's Narrenschiff (1494), Stricker's Der Pfaffe Amis (1483) and especially Till Eulenspiegel (1515), the best specimen of its class, show us heroes (or rather anti-heroes), who for the most part exist only as the sum total of their tricks.²

Of these Till Eulenspiegel is the most famous. It narrates the life of Till Eulenspiegel. He was thrice baptized: in the font; in the mud after being dropped from his mother's arms; and finally in hot water to cleanse him from the mud. The story continues with his wanderings throughout Europe, his adventures, practical jokes and comical frauds. Till as a peasant in service, a cheater of burgher, churchmen, physicians and nobles, anticipated the picaro of the Spanish picaresque novel.

A few examples may illustrate this. Till Eulenspiegel, upon arrival at the famous city of Magdeburg, let it be known that he would fly through the air from the roof of the town-house. A large crowd assembled in the market-place to see this marvel. Then Eulenspiegel appeared on the roof of the town-house and made motions with his arms, as if he would fly down. People waited breathlessly for him to do so. Thereat Till laughed merrily and said to the people: "I thought I was the greatest fool on earth, but I see that in this

¹In Arabic literature however, an example of this process is found as early as the eleventh century in the Assemblies of Al Hariri. Since it is felt that this work is of considerable importance as a possible source for the picaresque novel, a detailed description of it will be given in the next chapter.

²R. E. Chandler & K. Schwartz, A new History of Spanish Literature (Louisiana State University Press, 1961), p. 180.

city people are greater fools than I am. How could you think that I without wings or feathers would fly down from the roof? You should have noticed that I told you a lie and deceived you." Then he came down from the roof of the town-house in the same way he had climbed up and left the people standing in the market-place. The story ends with some satiric comment on people's folly: "Thus it is with many besides the people of Magdeburg, who rush eagerly to believe that the which they might see is most plainly untrue; while what is possible and within their means to make them good sport, and serve them with good service, that neglect they with great scorn and contempt."¹

Another episode relates how Till took advantage of the stupidity of a priest. Till Eulenspiegel went to confession with a priest, in front of whom stood a silver box, by which he set great store. Till recited his sins, so great in number that the good priest leaned back and fell asleep. Till put the box in his pocket. When the priest woke up, he rubbed his eyes and asked Eulenspiegel how far he had proceeded with his recital. Till said that he had arrived at the eighth commandment, and that at one time he had stolen a silver box from a person, and he now wanted to give it to the priest. The priest refused to receive stolen goods, and advised Till to give the box back to the owner. "That I was going to do", Till said, "but he refused me." The priest answered: "In that case keep it with a good conscience, go in peace, your sins are forgiven." The priest never slept again in the confessional, so in consequence of Till's misdeed more of men's sins were forgiven them than before, which did them great

¹Till Eulenspiegel, trans, K. R. H. Mackenzie (London: Routledge & Sons Ltd., ND), p. 60.

good.¹

We see then that at the opening of the sixteenth century there flourished in Germany a popular fiction strongly allied, so far as mere roguery was concerned, to the later Spanish picaresque novel. In the German novels, however, observation of life was merely incidental and not as in Spain uppermost. There was no causal connection between events, yet, all in all, these works, especially Till Eulenspiegel may be regarded as the closest approach to the picaresque novel in Europe, and they antedate the appearance of the first Spanish picaresque novel, the Lazarillo de Tormes.

Between the German novel and the Spanish one there was indeed a wide disparity, for the Spanish anti-hero had finally emerged from his acts as a distinct character in a real and interesting environment, while the Teutonic anti-hero was only a name, the souvenir of a traditional rogue, dead by the middle of the fourteenth century, but one to whom arbitrarily had come to be attributed ingenious cheats gathered from everywhere.

Be that as it may, Till Eulenspiegel must definitely be mentioned as a predecessor of Lazarillo de Tormes, the first Spanish picaro, and it may well be possible that Till's adventures were known to Spaniards of the sixteenth century.²

There is, however, another anti-hero, not of European origin, who may well have served as a model for the later Spanish

¹Ibid., p. 82.

²G. T. Northup, op. cit., p. 171.

rogues, namely the Arab Abu Said of Serug, and a careful examination of this picaro and his antecedents seems in order.

CHAPTER V

THE MAQAMAT OF AL-HARIRI

As the Arab invaders crossed the straits of Gibraltar in the year 711 A.D. and extended their conquests to every part of the peninsula, thousands of Christians, who generally continued to live under Moslem protection, fell into their hands. They were well treated by the government, enjoyed religious liberty, and often rose to high offices in the army or at court.¹ Many of them became rapidly imbued with Moslem civilization, so that as early as the middle of the ninth century we find Alvaro, Bishop of Cordova, complaining that his co-religionists read the poems and romances of the Arabs, and studied the writings of Mohammedan theologians and philosophers not in order to refute them but to learn how to express themselves in Arabic with correctness and elegance.² "Where", he asks, "can anyone meet nowadays with a layman who reads the Latin commentaries on the Holy Scriptures? Who studies the Gospels, the Prophets, the Apostles? Alas, all young Christians of conspicuous talents are acquainted only with the language and writings of the Arabs. They read and study Arabic books with the utmost zeal, spend immense sums of money in collecting them for their libraries, and proclaim everywhere that this literature is admirable. On the other hand, if you talk with them of

¹Reynold A. Nicholson, A Literary history of the Arabs (Cambridge: 1956), p. 414.

²Ibid., p. 415.

Christian books, they reply contemptuously that these books are not worth their notice. Alas, the Christians have forgotten their own language, and amongst the thousands of us scarce one is to be found who can write a tolerable Latin letter to a friend; whereas very many are capable of expressing themselves exquisitely in Arabic and of composing poems in that tongue with even greater skill than the Arabs themselves."¹

Although the bishop may have exaggerated, it is evident that Mohammedan culture had a strong attraction for the Spanish Christians. The Moslem Empire in Spain lasted until 1230 A.D. By that time the last dynasty, the Alkonades, had been driven out of the Peninsula, although one spot remained where the Moors could find shelter. This was Granada. This little Moslem kingdom survived for two centuries and a half. It was not until 1492 that Granada, the last stronghold of the European Arabs, opened its gates to Ferdinand and Isabella.²

For approximately seven centuries, therefore, Spain was under the constant influence of Arabic culture and learning and it seems more than a strong probability that Spanish literature during the Renaissance would continue to show this influence.

When examining the sources of the picaresque novel one should not overlook possible Arabic predecessors. There is in fact

¹R. Dozy, Histoire des Muselmans d'Espagne jusqu'à la conquête de l'Andalusie par les Almoravides, trans. F. G. Stokes (London: 1913), II, p. 103.

²Nicholson, op. cit., p. 441.

a well-known work in the Arab-speaking countries, the famous Maqamat¹ of Hariri (1054-1122),² completely in verse, which contains most of the picaresque elements found in the Spanish rogue romance.

All action in the Maqamat evolves around the central character Abu Said of Serugh. The real protagonist, al Harith ibn Hammam, narrator of Abu Said's exploits, and the other characters seem to have no other purpose than to provide opportunities for Abu Said's brilliant successes. The hero is a complex personality, and involved in the most divergent activities. He is at the same time grammarian, lawyer, rhetorician, schoolmaster, traveller, libertine. Now he is disguised as an Imam of the mosque or a dervish, at other times he functions as an inspired preacher or high priest of the brotherhood of beggars. With rare mastery he deceives and cheats the most various personages. He experiences delicate sentiments while performing the basest acts. He amuses by his "infinite variety", the impossible situations by which he finds himself compromised and by his brilliant and fascinating conversation. The only purpose of this display of wit is to extract some money from his gullible audience.³

Although Abu Said knew that es quod habeas, and tried to find a lucrative post, no profession proved to be as profitable as beggary. Moreover the life of a beggar was one of freedom and indepen-

¹Maqama, (plural Maqamat) is properly "a place of standing", hence, an assembly where people stand listening to the speaker, and in particular an assembly for literary discussion. At an early period reports of such conversations and discussions received the name of maqamat. The word, in its literary sense, is usually translated by "assembly" or by the French "seance".
Nicholson, op. cit., p. 328.

²Nicholson, op. cit., p. 329.

³Angel Gonzalez Palencia, Del Lazarillo a Quevedo (Madrid, 1946), p. 17.

dence, and this he prized above all.

Finally, shortly before he dies this picaro is converted and accepted in Allah's faith.

A few Maqamat will be dealt with in detail in translation to illustrate the definite picaresque elements found in this work.

The Second Maqama

Harith, the narrator, is in a circle of scholars when a lame man makes his appearance, and after saluting them describes his former affluence and present poverty in a very poetical and figurative style. Harith perceiving his genius and pitying his distress offers him a dinar on condition that he will improvise some lines in praise of it. This the lame man does at once, and when Harith offers him another dinar on condition of his blaming it, he recites another composition in dispraise of money. Harith then recognizes in the lame man Abu Said, and rebukes him for his imposture. Abu Said defends himself in some new verses and ends as follows:

"Ich hinke, doch nicht aus Vergnügen am Hincken,
 Ich hinke um zu essen, ich hinke um zu trinken,
 Ich hinke wo Sterne der Hoffnung mir winken,
 Ich hinke, wo Gulden entgegen mir blinken.
 Was man nicht erfliegen kann, musz man erhinken,
 Viel besser ist hinken, als völlig zu sinken.
 Die Schrift sagt: 'Es ist keine Sunde zu hinken'."¹

¹Die Verwanlungen der Abu Said von Serug, oder die Makamen des Hariri von Friedrich Rückert (Stuttgart: 1878), p. 18.

The translation of the Maqamat by Friedrich Rückert is a brilliant one according to T. Chenery. It is the only translation in verse and imitates most closely the original Maqamat.

T. Chenery, The assemblies of al-Hariri (London: F. Skengass, 1867), p. 5.

The Third Maqama

Harith is engaged with some friends in a night conversation, when a stranger knocks at the door, and addresses them in verses describing his want and weariness, his excellent disposition, and his gratitude for the favors he may receive. Struck with his poetical ability they admit him and give him supper. The lamp being brought, Harith discovers that the guest is Abu Said and informs the company of his merits. They then ask him for a story and he relates that he had that evening met with a long lost son whom he would be glad to take charge of, did not his poverty hinder him. As he has taken care to mention in the narrative that he was of the royal race of Strassan, the company are moved by his misfortunes and at once raise a large sum of money to enable him to support his boy. Abu Said delights them with his conversation, but as soon as daylight appears he calls away Harith to assist him in cashing the checks or orders which he had received. The simple Harith, who had been charmed by the verses which the father has put into the mouth of the son, desires to see so eloquent a youth; upon which Abu Said laughs heartily, tells his friend, in some exquisite verses, that he, Abu Said, had neither wife nor son, and that the story was only a trick to obtain money. He excuses himself by saying:

"Wie sollte ich leben? und leben soll ich;
Wenn ich nicht täglich zog einen Hanen?
So nimm's nicht übel, dasz ich dich heut fing.
Es ist mein Handwerk, Gott segn'es Amen."¹

¹Friedrich Rückert, op. cit., p. 26.

The Eighth Maqama

In this Maqama Abu Said is found making gain by his usual questionable arts. Harith notices a crowd following an elderly man who is dragging along a handsome youth. The former accuses the boy of having killed his son and they decide to settle their case in a court presided over by the Governor, who has a reputation for liking young boys. The boy denies his guilt and passionately pleads his innocence. The old man refuses to believe him and demands the boy's punishment. The Governor completely overpowered by the boy's beauty decides to pay the old man off and so obtain possession of the boy. A hundred dinars are promised, but as this sum cannot be collected at once the old man demands custody of the boy until the full amount is paid the next day. The Governor consents and soon the two are left together in the courtyard. Harith suspects the "fine Italian hand" of Abu Said and visits him and the boy in the Governor's courtyard. Abu Said admits his identity and states that he and his son, his assistant in his tricks, intend to escape before dawn. This they do after having given Harith a sealed paper to be presented to the Governor. Harith decides to read it and when he finds that it contains some satirical verses on the Governor he decides to destroy the letter. It contained the following poem:

"So sprich zum Wali, welchen mein Verschwinden
Geworfen in der Reue Feuerpein;
Der Alte nahm dein Geld, dein Herz der Junge.
Den Doppelten Verlust, o streich ihn ein.
Du hast den Beutel aufgethan, weil Liebe
Dir zugehalten hat der Augen Schein.
O lauf nicht dem nach, was du laufen liesest.
Schleus deinen Kummer in den leeren Schrein.
Und wardst du heute durch der Liebe Groszmuth
Ein gröszer Martyrer als einst Hoszein;

Belehrung kauftest du dafür, die gerne
Der Weise kauft um Gold und Edelstein.
So stelle künft'ig ein die Jagd. Oft locket
Das Reh den Jäger in des Löwen Hain,
Ausritt schon mancher an Erwerb und kehrte
Nach Hause mit den Schuhen des Honein¹."2

The Twentieth Maqama

On a cold winter day Abu Said stands completely naked in the market place and begs for clothing. Harith gives Abu Said his coat, telling him to return it when he is warm. Upon this example other people follow and Abu Said receives so much clothing that it is obvious he does not need Harith's coat any longer. When Abu Said leaves, Harith follows him and demands his coat back. The indignant reply is:

"Was man dem Grab und was man in fromme Stiftung gab,
Nimmt man beiden nicht wieder ab.
Schlage dir den Mantel aus dem Sinn,
Es ist wie das Gestern, das Heute ist dahin."³

Then he recites the following verses with which Harith may keep himself warm.

"Wenn die wüsten Winterwinde wüthend wehen.
Weizt du, was zur Wehre wählt ein Weiser?
Warme Wohnung, weiche Wott und wollnes Wamms.
Weiter: würzgen Wein und will'ge Weiber."⁴

¹Honein was a shoemaker. When one of his Arab countrymen wanted to buy shoes but failed to come to an agreement with him, the shoemaker devised the following trick. He went home before the Arab and threw one shoe on the road; the second one he threw down a little further. Then he hid in the bushes. The Arab, who had left the first shoe lying on the road, picked up the second shoe, and then, leaving his horse walked back to collect the first one. While he was so engaged Honein appeared and stole the Arab's horse.

²Friedrich Rückert, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

³Ibid., op. cit., p. 153.

⁴Ibid.

The Fortieth Maqama

The last Maqama tells of Abu Said's conversion from rogue and cheat to Imam of the village of Serug. This miracle was, according to Abu Said, brought about by the prayers of the inhabitants of Basrah.

"O Ihre Einwohner von Basrah, seid gepriesen
Ihr hatt einem Verirrten den Weg gewiessen."¹

He then takes his leave, also from Harith, and this marks the end of their relationship and the Maqamat.

Two commentaries on the Maqamat existed in Moslem Spain, one by an inhabitant from Jerez (1222 A.D.) and the other by Estercuel from Aragon.² This proves that the Maqamat was well-known among Arab-speaking Spaniards, and it is not impossible that the versatile and extraordinary anti-hero of the Maqamat became a literary figure.

Because, as indicated by the passages quoted, Abu Said repeatedly shows the cleverness, cunning and other characteristics displayed by the later Spanish picaresque he should be included in the list of possible predecessors of Lazarillo de Tormes and the picaresques who came after him.

From the preceding two chapters it can be seen that Lazarillo de Tormes owes far more to the Golden Ass of Apuleius and the medieval literature of roguery than to the Satyricon. Its form certainly seems to be based upon Apuleius' novel, not on Petronius' novel. It should also be noted that the Golden Ass is far more likely to have been available to the author of Lazarillo de Tormes than was

¹Ibid., p. 333.

²Angel Gonzalez Palencia, op. cit., p. 18.

the Satyricon.

It should also be clear now that the content of the Lazarillo de Tormes owes far more to the medieval literature of roguery than to any classical source. Moreover the sources of medieval literature were all more readily available to the author of the first Spanish picaresque novel than was the Satyricon.

Therefore it is suggested that the author of the Lazarillo de Tormes is indebted to Apuleius and the authors of the medieval literature of roguery. In no way, however, does he seem to be influenced by Petronius.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

This thesis has attempted to suggest that the assumption that the Satyricon was a model and source for the picaresque novels of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been too readily made.

It has been made clear in Chapter I that the Satyricon, although containing definite picaresque elements cannot be classified as a romance of roguery. Encolpius and his companions are too far removed from the picaroes as portrayed in the romances of roguery to be identified with them. It was pointed out that the essential differences between the Satyricon and the romance of roguery lies in the widely divergent characterization of their protagonists.

As was shown in Chapter II, the Satyricon was excerpted as early as the fourth century and the extant portions were virtually unknown during the Middle Ages. Petronius' name became more and more obscure after the seventh century and from this near total eclipse the conclusion may be drawn that he was one of the least known and studied Latin authors.

The most important fragment of the Satyricon, the Cena Trimalchionis, which came to light in 1423, vanished immediately afterwards and was not discovered again until 1650. This fragment then was unknown during the sixteenth century, the period during which the picaresque novel first came into existence and made its greatest impact on European literature.

It was also pointed out in Chapter II that Petronius was so little known during the Middle Ages and the period immediately following that the greatest classical scholar of the Renaissance was not acquainted with him until 1420. In that year a manuscript, perhaps containing the Cena Trimalchionis, was discovered in England. Moreover, a study of Petronian influence on Italian literature in general produced negative results.

In France interest in Petronius was not awakened until after the discovery of the Trau manuscript in 1650. Especially in France during the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century Petronius was read and appreciated, but not actually imitated. It may be said, however, that the Petronian esprit inspired several more modern French novels. His irony, his apparent laissez-allér, his elegance and refinement, if Collignon is right, made its mark on authors like Balzac, Merimée, Anatole France, Flaubert and de Maupassant.

But that as it may, it seems likely that the authors of the early French picaresque novels are not in any way indebted to the Satyricon.

In Spain, where the picaresque novel originated during the first half of the sixteenth century, the name of Petronius and the Satyricon were virtually unknown.

Therefore it is suggested that Petronian influence on Italian, French and Spanish medieval literature, some of which provided source material for the picaresque genre, was almost nonexistent. Petronius made his only direct contribution to Western Medieval Literature by his narrative of the Matron of Ephesus, as was pointed out in Chapters II and IV.

A detailed study of the first picaresque novel, the Lazarillo de Tormes, which saw the light in Spain in the year 1554, and the Satyricon shows that there is not the remotest connection between the novels. A careful examination of the contents of both novels does not reveal any analogies or parallels. No edition or translation of the Satyricon was published in Spain prior to the appearance of the Lazarillo de Tormes. Thus, though it is only by an argumentum ex silentio, it seems reasonable to dismiss the Satyricon as a source for the first European romance of roguery and for the picaresque novel in general.

Moreover it was shown in Chapter IV that alternative sources for the picaresque novel are many and reveal a much closer analogy with the romance of roguery than the Satyricon. The Golden Ass of Apuleius, which was shown to have no connection with the Satyricon, undoubtedly supplied the idea of the form of the picaresque novel, and such works as the Dance of Death, the Roman de Renart, the fabliaux, the novelle, the Till Eulenspiegel and the Maqamat seem to have been a source of inspiration for the picaresque novel as far as content is concerned.

These provided the early picaresque authors with outstanding examples of a combination of consistent roguery with the satiric element. They portray the typical anti-hero as he is represented in later picaresque literature. Moreover they provided episodes ready-made for appropriation by the romance of roguery.

In Chapter V it was pointed out that the above mentioned sources were more likely to have been available to the picaresque

authors, and the author of Lazarillo de Tormes in particular, than the Satyricon was. Therefore it is suggested that the authors of the picaresque novel are in no way indebted to Petronius and the Satyricon.

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